LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921 Editor: R. Palme Dutt

FUTURE OF THE LEFT
The Editor

★

CHEDDI JAGAN
Western Democracy on Trial

★

TWO KINDS OF PLAN
Andrew Rothstein

★

Vietnam and the Miners—D. Francis

'African' Socialism—Kofi Batsa

Bonn Marches On—John Peet

Land Nationalisation's Ghost—Tom Vernon

NOVEMBER 1965

Two Shillings

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOUR MONTHLY

VOL. XLVII No. 11 NOVEMBER . 1965

CONTENTS

Page

Notes of the Month: Future of the Left. *Election Prospects—How Much Choice?—Communist Congress—Who Are the Left?—Strength of the Left—Mr. Grimond's Overtures—A 'Left' Without Class Struggle?—Mr. Wilson's Godsend—An Unavowed Alliance?—Offensive Against the Unions—For Co-operation of the Left* .....**R.P.D.** 481

Western Democracy on Trial in British Guiana. Ex-Premier exposes the shameful betrayal of democracy and surrender to the U.S. in British Guiana .....**Cheddi Jagan** 494

Two Kinds of Plan. The Anniversary of the October Revolution provides an occasion to compare the 'national planning' of 'Democratic Socialism' and real Socialism.....**Andrew Rothstein** 504

Vietnam: I. Miners and Vietnam. S.W. Miners' General Secretary explains why every pithead will have the opportunity to vote on the National Ballot.....**D. Francis** 510

II. Commentators on Vietnam. Three timely and revealing books reviewed .....**Cdr. E. P. Young** 512

'African' Socialism. Editor of Ghana's *The Spark* analyses the ideological battle for Africa .....**Kofi Batsa** 514

Bonn Marches On. Editor of *Democratic German Report* comments on the West German election results .....**John Peet** 518

Land Nationalisation's Ghost. Tenants' President discusses the Government's proposals on Land .....**Tom Vernon** 521

On the Morrow of the Socialist Revolution. First publication of an English translation of a letter of Karl Marx. 502-3

Forty Years Ago 525

Book Reviews: 'Science in History', J. D. Bernal: *Clemens Dutt*; 'Freedom of Art', H. Arundel: *John Berger*..... 526

Views of Value .....**Helen Falber** 528

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Notes of the Month

FUTURE OF THE LEFT

> **Our aim was and is the building of a broad militant alliance of all trade union and labour organisations, based on the co-operation of Communists, Socialists and militant trade unionists to end the domination of right-wing policies and leadership in the movement . . . the possibility of a still broader alliance extending beyond the labour movement.**
>
> DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS, November 27, 1965.

October 19, 1965

What is the future of British politics? The conferences of the three parties which at present have representation in parliament have now taken place. The Liberals opened the ball at the beginning of September with the offer of a working alliance of the non-socialist left. Labour at the end of October rejected the alliance in principle, but in practice adopted a current programme of limited measures specifically stated to be appropriate for non-socialist national support. Toryism launched its conference with a policy statement whose title was widely regarded as copying recent Labour and Liberal slogans, 'Keep Britain Right Ahead' (this repetitive series of gimmick titles for the same contents irresistibly recalls the succession of 'TW, etc.' by 'Not So Much, etc.' by 'BBC 3') preceded by a Foreword by the new leader, Mr. Heath, stating that wherever he went he found electors dissatisfied with the old policies and demanding a new alternative policy. So there is general agreement, however varied the forms of expression, that the electorate is showing disillusionment with the existing alignment of parties and the conventional policies which have brought Britain to such a disastrous outcome, and demanding a new alternative policy

Election Prospects

But where is this new alternative policy to find expression in the existing alignment of parties? Supposing an election were to take place tomorrow, what would be the actual choice before the overwhelming majority of the electorate? We can give full respect to Mr. Wilson's repeated statements that he has no wish to call a snap election, but would prefer to complete his programme in order to present the results to the electorate. A sudden hazard with the exist-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing precarious parliamentary majority might of course alter this prospect. We can certainly find satisfaction that the present trend of the opinion polls shows a marked rise in Labour's lead; since a swing back to Toryism would be a political step backwards for Britain. The character of the new Tory programme, with its manifest menace to the social services and to the unions, as well as the choice of the too obviously soulless machine Heath, without a hint of the human qualities to make a popular figure, as Leader, may have contributed to this advance in Labour's lead. The improvement in the economic position may also have contributed; though this may prove temporary, since the real problems remain unsolved, and the consequences of the restrictive measures may prove serious. But the essential question remains. Whether the election comes now, in one year, or in two, what will be the choice offered to the majority of the electors?

How Much Choice?

In nine-tenths of the constituencies (more, on the present basis) the choice will be between the programmes or type of programmes adopted at the three party conferences which have taken place. Only the superficial would ignore the differences in detail and in emphasis between these policies; still more, in the character and composition of the parties involved, so that, with the obvious close tie-up of the Conservative Party and big business, and the basis of the Labour Party in the trade unions, the contest between these in the constituencies, however much the policies of the leadership may in practice draw close, takes on something of the character, even though a distorted character, of a class confrontation. But on the biggest key issues, of decisive importance for Britain's future, how many electors could define with any confidence the difference between the rival policies offered? On the American military alliance (or rather, the satellite position of Britain in relation to the United States)? On the crippling arms expenditure and overseas bases? On Vietnam? On Nato? On the credit squeeze? On wage restraint disguised as 'incomes policy'? On immigration (the Liberal clamour on this issue covered, not any difference on the principle, but only on the exact figure of the restrictive quota)? Yet these are the big questions of public controversy. The volume of opposition to the tri-partisan policy on these issues was shown in the size of the opposition votes of over two and a quarter millions on Vietnam, over one and a half millions on the racialist immigration policy, and over two and a half millions on incomes policy legislation, at the Labour Party Confer-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ence at Blackpool. Yet what opportunity will these millions have to voice their will, or record it by their votes, on these vital issues of such decisive importance for Britain's future, at a coming general election? This is the crucial problem of Britain's present political situation.

A Problem Requiring Solution

This problem is a genuine problem with the existing alignment of political forces, the structure and operation of the labour movement, and the present electoral system. It is true that the Labour Chief Whip has hinted at the desirability of considering the question of reform of an electoral system which is weighted to exclude or under-represent minorities. But it is doubtful whether this hint was more than a try-on in the process of the elaborate interchange now proceeding between the Labour and Liberal Parties. It would be a mistake to count on any easy short-cut solutions. The problem has to be faced in the actual existing conditions. Yet the solution to this problem has to be found, if there is not to be a block on political progress in Britain. This question has become especially acute for all those who saw in the result of last year's election the hope of advancing into a new era after thirteen years of Tory rule, and have since suffered considerable disillusionment when they have seen how much the old policies based on the foundation of imperialism still dominate. They are anxiously pressing for a new advance in policy, but at the same time justly concerned that the struggle for this aim shall not bring the danger of a Tory come-back. This debate in a variety of forms is at present proceeding within the labour movement, among many sections of democratic opinion, and specially among young people.

Communist Congress

It is in relation to this problem that a special significance attaches to the forthcoming conference of the last of the four national political parties, the Congress of the Communist Party due to open at the end of November. The Communist Party is still a small party, without parliamentary representation, though with an indisputable basis in the working class; fulfilling a rôle in all the struggles of the working people, both industrial workers and professional sections, women and young people for their advancement and against monopoly interests; fulfilling an international rôle, recognised by the leaders of the liberation struggle in many countries; and presenting

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a consistent policy, both for the immediate next stage in Britain and for the transition to socialism. All these aspects will assuredly find their expression in the proceedings of the Congress. But there is no doubt that the central problem before this Congress will be the problem which is common to all on the left at present: how to find the way forward for the new policies which are more and more manifestly indispensable for Britain's future, if the disastrous outcome of previous experiences is not to be repeated, within the shackling conditions of the existing British political situation and relations of forces. The contribution of the Congress can be no more than a contribution to this wider debate on the left; since a common solution must be sought, if it is to be successful.

Who Are the Left?

Care needs to be taken to avoid the familiar narrow picture of 'the Left', conventionally presented in the press or by Front Bench spokesmen, as if it consisted of only a handful of political critics, or were to be identified simply with the most advanced stratum of active socialists or politically class-conscious workers. We are concerned with the broad currents of popular feeling which have manifested themselves over Vietnam, or in what the press commentators and broadcasting lecturers are pleased to call the shocking 'anti-Americanism' of the general public, or the practical resistance of the industrial workers in the workshops, whatever their leaders may pledge in boardroom conferences on their behalf, against wage restraint and invasion of their union rights. We are concerned, that is, with the potential majority of the people which can be won, and which needs to be mobilised and won, against the policies of monopoly capital, whether directly operated or presented through a façade of right-wing Labour Ministers as mouthpieces repeating their civil servants' briefs or megaphoning the expert instructions handed out to them by the Bank of England or international financiers as oracular wisdom. The rôle of the relatively limited number of active socialist propagandists or militant trade unionists, whether communist or non-communist, is to work together on the basis of the common and agreed immediate issues of struggle, to mobilise this majority.

Parallels of Attlee and Wilson?

The recent interchange between the Liberal Party Conference and the Labour Party Conference on the question of relations between

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the two parties as supposedly rival representatives of 'the left' is of interest in this connection, not so much for the question of the relations between the two parties, which is a relatively conventional question of electoral and parliamentary manoeuvring in a situation of a narrow parliamentary majority, but for the light this interchange throws on the real class situation. The present Wilson Labour Government is often compared to the Attlee Labour Government of 1945-51. There are undoubtedly many parallel features. The initial popular enthusiasm over the defeat of Toryism after a long period of Tory rule (fourteen years and thirteen years respectively). The extensive promises and partially fulfilled programme of legislative social reforms. Also from the outset the parallel reactionary imperialist programme of cold war, rearmament and financial dependence on the United States (the initial £1,000 million loan for the Attlee Government, followed by the Marshall subsidies; £1,100 million indebtedness so far for the Wilson Government); and consequent swinging behind United States policy (from Fulton to Vietnam). Panic measures began for the Attlee Government by 1947, when the loan was exhausted, and the bill came in for the reactionary imperialist policies and overseas military expenditure, and the switch took place to austerity and the wage freeze, resulting in the increasing discredit and eventual defeat of the Government by 1951. But there is a difference this time. This time the revolt in the labour movement against the reactionary aspects of policy of the Wilson Government has begun much earlier and has won from an early stage a much wider body of support. This is the most hopeful sign for the future.

Contrast of 1946 and 1965

Already during the first year of office of the first post-war Labour Government the disastrous and reactionary character of the Bevin foreign policy of the cold war, anti-Soviet hostility, subservience to the United States and war against democratic liberation movements, including against the Greek people, had been revealed and had aroused justified criticism and anger. The Bournemouth Labour Party Conference in June 1946 was held eleven months after the Attlee-Bevin Government had come into office. The agenda of the Bournemouth Conference revealed critical resolutions, such as that of South-West St. Pancras demanding 'Anglo-Soviet friendship' and repudiating the Fulton policy of making Britain 'a satellite of American monopoly capitalism'. But all such critical resolutions

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were overwhelmingly rejected without a vote being counted. Yet that Labour Government had a large majority in parliament, so that there could be no attempt to raise the argument of avoiding embarrassment to a government with a dangerously narrow and precarious parliamentary majority. It was not until the following Trades Union Congress that major opposition votes began to be recorded, with a vote of 2,444,000 supporting a motion of criticism of the reactionary Bevin foreign policy moved by the then militant Electrical Trades Union, against 3,557,000 for the policy of the Labour Government and right-wing leadership. At the Labour Party Conference in June no such votes or divisions had yet been registered.

Strength of the Left

Contrast the picture at the Blackpool Labour Party Conference in September—also eleven months after the inauguration of the Labour Government. Of the 387 resolutions on the preliminary agenda the overwhelming majority were critical of one aspect or another of the reactionary foreign or home policies of the Wilson-Brown Labour Government. Further, the largest grouping of these, 78 in all, turned on questions of foreign policy, Vietnam, relations with the United States and armaments; and not one of these 78 could be regarded as equivalent to support of the Government's foreign policy; the majority explicitly condemned it and demanded a drastic revision of policy. It might be claimed that these resolutions only reflect the expression of the articulate critics, and certainly the majority disappear without trace or are swallowed up in the elaborate process of compositing in the actual Conference proceedings. Even so, it is doubtful if any previous preliminary agenda in any year has shown so overwhelming a condemnation of a Labour Government's foreign and arms policy and demand for its basic revision. But the test of the measure of support came with the voting. Despite all the pleas not to 'rock the boat', or endanger a Government with so narrow a parliamentary majority, or play into the hands of the Tory enemy, the powerful opposition votes of one and a half to two and a half millions were cast on major crucial issues. There is no parallel to this before in the first year of a Labour Government. Thereby it was shown that the understanding has spread that the fight for a change of policy, so far from playing into the hands of a Tory comeback, is essential in order to defeat a Tory comeback and prevent a repetition of the experience of the Attlee Labour Government.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Grimond's Overtures

In this situation it is not surprising that Mr. Grimond for the Liberal Party, sensing the strength of this working class and socialist revolt against the right-wing policies of the leadership dominating the Labour Government, revealed already in the trade union conferences preceding the Blackpool Conference, as well as in the preliminary agenda, should have made overtures to the right-wing leadership for a 'working partnership' between the Liberal and Labour Parties in parliament, thus ensuring a more stable majority, on the basis of their essentially common policy. The verdict of the electorate, Mr. Grimond declared at the Liberal Party Conference, had shown that the electorate wanted neither Conservatism nor Socialism, but 'a non-socialist government of the left'. On this *The Times* acidly commented in an editorial:

> Those Liberals, Mr. Grimond among them, whose platform stock-in-trade is the necessity for a non-socialist Government of the left appear to overlook the fact that we more or less have one already. . . . Ministers will be speaking to a record whose socialist content so far is negligible. The main success they can claim, the salving of sterling from imminent shipwreck, is a considerable achievement, whatever view may be taken of the Government's own contribution to the severity of the crisis. But it is the sort of triumph that can be more freely celebrated at a Lord Mayor's banquet in the City of London than at a Labour Conference. Solidarity with the international banking community is not part of the socialist scheme of things.
>
> (*The Times* editorial 'Entirely Free From Socialism', September 27, 1965.)

A verdict which can hardly be regarded as coming from a left critic.

A 'Left' Without Class Struggle?

Mr. Grimond on the basis of his analysis proceeded to advocate the development from the existing Labour Party and Liberal Party to a new 'non-socialist radical party', provided Mr. Wilson would only break with his irreconcilable left wing devoted to doctrines of socialism and the class struggle. From the point of view of liberal politics the remaining class associations of the Labour Party appear as an obsolete survival to be cast off. Thereby Mr. Grimond only revealed his inability to understand the background and basis of the Labour Party. The Labour Party developed initially as a challenge on behalf of the workers, and based, as it still mainly is, on the trade unions as the mass organisations of the working class, to the political domination of the two governing parties of the capitalist class, the Liberals and the Conservatives, who alternated in the government of the country in accordance with the two-party system. Long before

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Labour Party accepted the aim of socialism, which was not adopted until after 1917, the rock of its faith was independence from the two parties of capitalism, the Liberals and Tories (whatever the practice might be); and this was the basis of its acceptance into the old Socialist International in 1908, although its programme was not socialist. All this belongs now to the past; but it is a past which still has its reaction on the present.

A Successor to the Liberal Party—With A Difference

For the tables are now turned. With the development of the crisis of imperialism, manifested in the first world war, the once powerful Liberal Party fell into collapse. The Labour Party succeeded to the position of the Liberal Party as the partner of the Conservative Party in the operation of the two-party system. This transition from the confrontation of Tory and Liberal to the confrontation of Tory and Labour is a partial reflection of the impact of sharpening class antagonism through the distorting mirror of parliamentary representation. But at the same time in practice, in proportion as the Labour Party has succeeded to the rôle of the old Liberal Party, the Labour Party leadership now deny and repudiate any class outlook, despite the basis of their organisation in the class organisations of the workers. Nor are they anxious to forego this basis, despite all the admonitions of a Wyatt and other would-be advisers, because they know that it is indispensable to them, not only for finance and membership, but also because it harnesses on their side, almost irrespective of particular policies, the powerful class solidarity of the organised workers. From this class contradiction at the heart follow the ceaseless conflicts within the Labour Party, which have traditionally appeared as a conflict between the leadership and the rank and file or between the 'right wing' and the 'left wing'.

Mr. Grimond's Rebuff

Mr. Grimond says in effect to Mr. Wilson: 'You and I are on the same side against the class struggle. Our current policies are very similar. Your aim of socialism is nothing immediate. Why cannot we be sensible and join forces, thus ensuring a permanent majority of the electorate against Toryism, provided you get rid of your handful of malcontents who insist on preaching class struggle and demanding immediate socialist measures?' But from the point of view of the Labour Party leadership, precisely because the reality of class politics has been repudiated, the preservation of the shibbo-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leth of absolute independence from the two parties of the capitalist class, Tory or Liberal, becomes all the more vital in order to maintain their hold on the rank and file. Hence Mr. Grimond had to complain to the Liberal Party Conference that his overtures had been rebuffed. He in his turn proclaimed the absolute independence of the Liberal Party, and sought to boast that with their ten votes they held the balance of power, and would use that power without hesitation, including, if necessary, to force an election, which he asserted they would face with confidence.

Mr. Wilson's Godsend

On the other hand, for Mr. Wilson and his associates in the Labour Government, Mr. Grimond's overtures and complaint of a rebuff and disappointment on the very eve of the Labour Party Conference represented a godsend. Faced with the difficult problem of countering the growing volume of opposition on the left, and the task of defending such reactionary and unpopular policies as the support of the shameful war in Vietnam or the racialist White Paper on immigration, they could find in Mr. Grimond's approaches the heaven-sent opportunity to move from the defensive to the offensive and proclaim their incorruptible fidelity to the purity and independence of the Labour Party and their inexorable opposition to any kind of deal or bargain with representatives of capitalist politics. Under cover of this dramatically publicised repudiation of any deal with the Liberals, the real coalition with the politics of capitalism, with the international and British bankers and big monopolists, could be put over.

An Unavowed Alliance?

At the same time, while formal repudiation of any deal with the Liberals was thus proclaimed, the practical moves towards approximation of policy and unavowed parliamentary co-operation have been noticeably carried forward. At the Blackpool Conference, at the same time as repudiating any deal, Mr. Wilson went on to set out with considerable detail the items of the prospective parliamentary programme of the Government in the next session, comprising a very moderate catalogue of liberal reform measures, and added an appeal for support with the words: 'I hope others will be able to support these measures, because we believe them to be in the national interest'. Every commentator at once observed that steel nationalisation was omitted from the list, although Mr. Grimond

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had thrown out the public challenge in his speech that Liberal power had already been demonstrated by the fact that 'we have killed steel nationalisation'. In this situation steel nationalisation became a kind of acid test of the Government's immediate intentions. The issue was raised in Conference, including by a member of the Executive, Tom Driberg, and on the last day Clive Jenkins moved a resolution, which was only withdrawn after assurance on behalf of the Executive that the objective remained, although no pledge was given as to when such legislation would be introduced. On October 6 the Government Chief Whip threw out the hint of the necessity of an enquiry into the possibility of electoral reform to 'give a fair deal to important minorities like the Liberal Party'. On October 15, in reply to a questioner on Scottish television, Mr. Wilson again emphasised that he could give no undertaking that steel would be included in the Queen's Speech, that it was a question of 'priorities', and that there were 'already far more Bills competing for parliamentary time in this second session'. The tactical implications of these successive signs and pointers are evident.

Battle In Front

In this situation what is the line of battle opening out before us? The Blackpool Labour Party Conference has shown the growth of a serious body of trade union and labour opposition to those reactionary policies which echo Toryism, place Britain in pawn to the United States and the international financiers, and seek to limit the advance of the people in order to pay for these ruinous policies. The development of this body of informed opposition opinion, prepared to fight and vote for its viewpoint, and made possible by the preceding broad left co-operation in the union conferences, is of great promise for the future. Nevertheless, the fact must be faced that the Government and right-wing leadership have carried their policies with majorities on every issue. They can accordingly claim a mandate and support of the movement for all their policies, including the most reactionary, as over Vietnam, racialism, subservience to the United States, Holy Loch, or legislation to limit union rights. Consequently it is evident that these policies will be pursued further, unless the strength of popular resistance checks them. And these policies, unless checked, will bring very serious consequences, no less serious than the similar policies of the Attlee-Bevin Government whose outcome is familiar to all.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Menacing International Situation

The international situation is alive with manifest dangers. The United States is engaged in intensifying its war against the heroic Vietnam people to the level of bringing in a quarter of a million troops with every barbarous weapon of destruction; although popular resistance is rising in every country in the world, including in the United States. The Rhodesian racialist régime threatens an explosion which could engulf all Africa in conflict. In Aden all the hypocritical professions of devotion to the United Nations proclaimed at Blackpool by a Stewart or a Wilson have been made a mockery, at the very moment when those professions were being spoken, by an old-fashioned colonialist war of suppression against the popular liberation movement in defiance of the explicit decision and instruction of the United Nations Assembly.

Whose Nuclear Threat?

On nuclear weapons the prospects point to extension rather than limitation or disarmament; and in the recent joint tactical exercises of British and West German troops 'a rapid nuclear counter-attack' was part of the operation, not against the use of nuclear weapons by the assumed European enemy, but against a 'nuclear threat' (*The Times*, October 12, 1965), in other words, for the use of nuclear weapons first by the West. In this connection it is worth noting that the Chinese Government, which Mr. Wilson is so fond of pointing to as representing the threat of nuclear war justifying the retention of British independent nuclear weapons for possible use in the Far East, has recently (whatever may be the opinon of some of its general current statements on questions of war and peace) reaffirmed on October 6 its pledge 'never to be the first to use atom bombs'—the pledge of all the socialist countries, and the pledge refused by the United States and Britain. The West German elections have strengthened the aggressive right-wing forces; and it is a symptom that the Federal Minister of the Interior has now announced the official restoration of the expansionist first verse of 'Germany Over All' as the national anthem, which had been tactfully suppressed for the first twenty years after 1945.*

*The *Sun* columnist Jon Akass wrote on October 14: 'The Germans, who used to beat foreigners over the head at the outset of Deutschland Uber Alles, now confine the thing to the third verse which is in favour of justice and freedom and stuff like that'. His information was out of date. This year the Federal Minister of the Interior, Herr Hoecherl, informed parliament that the first verse was henceforth restored as the national anthem. The first verse proclaims: 'Germany, Germany over all, over all in the world, from the Maas to the Memel, from the Etsch to the Belt'. The Maas, otherwise the Meuse, flows through France, Belgium and Holland. The Belt washes the northern shores of Denmark. The Etsch or Adige is in Northern Italy. The distance from the Federal German frontier to the Memel in Soviet Lithuania is over 500 miles; between lie Poland and the German Democratic Republic. Thus Federal Germany's expansionist programme extends to territories exceeding its own several times over.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Whither Britain?

No less serious is the prospect for Britain if the present policies are continued. There could be no greater illusion than to believe that Britain's crisis is solved because the extreme deficit in the balance of payments is temporarily overcome by the customary stop-go methods. We have been through all that before, and more than once. The real causes of the crisis have not been tackled. The review of military expenditure has revealed that the real cost of the overseas bases (including the occupation force in West Germany) is £585 million a year (*Daily Mail*, October 14, 1965). There is no indication yet, whatever the attempts to economise in details, of the necessary basic change in policy and strategy, or to abandon the 'East of Suez' sacred mission beloved of Mr. Wilson. As a result of this Labour imperialist commitment, at the Conservative Party Conference Enoch Powell, speaking as Shadow Minister of Defence, was able to score by professing to advocate throwing over the costly 'East of Suez' strategy. According to the *New York Times*, the 'highest figures in the (Conservative) party confirmed that his views were those of the party hierarchy and had been scrutinised before they were delivered'. Of course this was not a proposal to cut military expenditure, but to increase the concentration on Europe and nuclear armament.

Offensive Against the Unions

The price of these policies is paid by the cutback on plans for social advance, the increasing burdens thrown on the masses of the people through taxation and price increases, the utilisation of every machinery of pressure to hold back wage advances, including now the first beginnings of compulsory legislative measures, and the consequent rapidly developing offensive against the unions, shop stewards and strikes. All this is presented in the name of supposed equal restriction for 'all incomes'. But in fact the rate of increase of profits has soared far beyond the rate of increases of wages. On the basis of company returns and official government figures the Labour Research Department Fact Service reported on July 17 that between May 1964 and May 1965, profits increased 18·25 per cent, dividends 11 per cent, prices 5·1 per cent, wage rates 3·9 per cent, and weekly earnings 4·7 per cent. In the second quarter of 1965 the profits of 681 companies increased 13·8 per cent (*Economist*, July 17, 1965). The offensive against the unions, shop stewards and strikes is now

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the front line of the battle. This offensive is not merely conducted by the big industrialists, the bankers and their press. It is echoed by Labour Ministers, by Mr. Wilson, Mr. Brown and Mr. Gunter. New legislation is due to be promulgated. The Royal Commission is preparing its report. The lines of battle are joined.

For Co-operation of the Left

It is manifest that in this situation the fullest co-operation of all on the left, of all socialists, trade unionists and supporters of peace, is imperative. Such co-operation has notably developed during the recent period; but there are still many barriers to overcome. The right wing seeks to maintain its domination by disrupting the left, and, in particular, by using the old familiar reactionary device of seeking to divide communists and non-communists. Even a considerable barrage of mechanical measures is employed to seek to maintain this disruption. The overcoming of this barrage is in the interests of all the left. Certainly there are varying schools of thought among the left as to the best tactical path of advance to the victory of common aims. There are those who see the most useful rôle of socialists to conduct a left fight as individual members within the Labour Party (in the majority of unions this question of division between the two sections does not usually arise in the same way), despite the restrictions on their political activity, discipline under a powerful right wing leadership, and lack of possibility of common organisation for their aims, in the hope of eventually winning over the party to a left policy. There are those who, on the basis of experience of the left fight in the trade unions and in the Labour Party, have become convinced of the necessity of an independent political party voicing the aims of socialism and the working class, not in opposition to the mass movement in the unions and the Labour Party, but to help forward the common advance and as the indispensable instrument for the final victory of the working class and socialism.

Path of Common Advance

Between these two tactical lines the issue is still in debate among the left, and will finally be settled only by practice. But this tactical issue should not stand in the way of the fullest practical co-operation of these two main schools or sections of the left in the common immediate struggle. Each can help the other. Division only plays into the hands of the right wing. Prejudices and artificial barriers

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

need to be overcome. Not only are immediate objectives common on the burning issues of today, but also the wider general objective, whatever the path of reaching it, to achieve a united labour movement on the basis of a militant policy capable of winning the majority of the people to the battle against the monopoly capitalists and their policies and thus opening the way to the advance to socialism. There is no question that in the conditions of Britain such unity, once achieved, would prove invincible. The essential immediate step to bring this prospect closer into view is to promote, alongside the rôle of the Communist Party and the *Daily Worker* in the common struggle, the broadest closer co-operation of all sections of the left. Towards this aim the coming Communist Party Congress will seek to make its contribution.

R.P.D.

WESTERN DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL IN BRITISH GUIANA

Cheddi Jagan

Leader of the People's Progressive Party of British Guiana

NOBLE sentiments have been expressed from time to time by representatives of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, who wish to project an image of themselves as upholders of the rule of law, who are only too willing to lead the colonial peoples to freedom and independence, if only the colonial peoples will demonstrate their readiness! What is the reality? In British Guiana, these pious intentions and declarations stand exposed in all their nakedness. In this small country, the microcosm of today's world problems, Western democracy is on trial.

British Guiana first appeared in the international headlines eleven years ago when, in 1953, our Constitution was suspended. At that time my party, the People's Progressive Party (P.P.P.), participated in the Government after winning eighteen out of twenty-four seats in the April, 1953 elections. Our overwhelming victory, unexpected by the colonialists, completely upset the delicate balance written into the Constitution for the policy-making Executive Council. Consequently, in October, after only 133 days in office, my reform-minded government was forcibly removed.

The crude gun-boat suspension of 1953 was not repeated a decade later. Instead, there was suspension by stages. Early in 1964,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

London made three Orders-in-Council which eroded the constitutional authority of my government. Powers held by my Ministers were placed in the hands of the Governor. He was authorised to withdraw money from the Treasury without the sanction and approval of the legislature, he assumed powers held by the Minister of Home Affairs for the registration of voters and the conduct of elections; and lastly, he was put in complete control of the Emergency and of a new force, the Special Service Unit, which was no more than an arm of the police, constitutional responsibility for which rested with the Minister of Home Affairs. And then came, in mid-1964, the monstrous detention of 33 P.P.P. legislators and activists, which robbed the Government of its parliamentary majority. This, in fact, amounted to a virtual suspension of the Constitution. It would seem that the only thing which prevented the British Government from embarking on an open gun-boat suspension as in 1953 was the fear of repercussions at home and abroad.

Meanwhile, it had amended our Constitution to provide for new elections in December, 1964 under a changed electoral system before the expiration of my Government's normal term of office in August, 1965. Our conventional Western first-past-the-post district or constituency system was replaced by the list system of proportional representation. The imposition of proportional representation at the London 1963 Constitutional Conference was an act of naked self-interest: principle was sacrificed at the altar of expediency and pledges given and commitments made by the British Government at the 1960 Constitutional Conference were dishonoured.

The cynical turn-about of policy on the part of the Labour Government towards British Guiana became clear soon after the Labour Government had assumed office. On October 31, the *New York Times* reported that the British Government, 'bowing to United States wishes, had ruled out early independence for British Guiana' and was going ahead with the proportional representation elections fixed for December 7. That the British Government had completely succumbed to U.S. pressure based on cold-war and anti-Castro hysteria became crystal clear during my conference in November with Mr. Anthony Greenwood, Secretary of State for the Colonies. I requested that the elections announced for December be postponed and a Commonwealth Mission be sent to British Guiana to help work out a solution. I thought I was on sound ground. Mr. Harold Wilson as leader of the Opposition in a debate in the House of Commons in June 1964 had called the imposition of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proportional representation 'a fiddled constitutional arrangement' and had urged that a Commonwealth Team which 'might consist of perhaps Canada, Jamaica, Trinidad, India and a representative of a West African State' should review our situation. Besides, I had put into Mr. Greenwood's hands what was certainly political dynamite. This package comprised *inter alia* two top secret reports of the Security Branch of the police on the P.N.C. terrorist organisation and the statement made in the Senate by Mrs. Janet Jagan on her resignation as Minister of Home Affairs. In her statement, Mrs. Jagan complained that she was not able to discharge her responsibility because she was not getting the effective co-operation, principally from the Commissioner of Police. The security reports, produced in August and September 1963, gave precise details of those in the hierarchy of the People's National Congress, Mr. Burnham's party, and the Trade Union Council, including an American citizen, who were involved in the disturbances of 1963—bombings, attempted bombings, arson, etc. The second report recommended that twenty-five of the fifty persons named in the first report should be charged for conspiracy. Needless to say, there were no charges and no detention.

Incidentally, these reports were withheld from me as Premier and from my Minister of Home Affairs. My argument that the outcome of the 1963 London Conference might have been different had I been armed with them was brushed aside. Mr. Greenwood was not to be moved. He stuck to his Colonial Office brief, said that he had confidence in the Commissioner of Police and that the facts in the reports were of questionable validity. He had conveniently forgotten that he had written to me on April 16, 1964, stating:

> As you know, we have condemned Duncan Sandys' decision to impose proportional representation in British Guiana and we expect to express that position when the Order-in-Council giving effect to the decision comes up for debate in the next week or two.

The Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, whom I saw later the same day, was more adroit. He offered a palliative—a Commonwealth Observer Team to observe the elections. I told him that there was nothing to be gained by observing a fraud—what was needed was a correction of the fraud. He too had forgotten that he had attacked the Sandys' imposition as a 'fiddled constitution'—a constitution which Arthur Bottomley described as 'riddled with disadvantages'. Mr. Bottomley went on to say that 'those who supported him (Sandys) have done so, not because they think this will reduce racial-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ism but because they think that it will put someone in power whom they prefer to Dr. Jagan'.

Indeed, this was precisely what happened. We were removed from the government although the election results proved what we set out to establish: namely, that had the elections been contested on the traditional first-past-the-post system, *we would have been returned as the government, since we were victorious in 20 out of the 35 electoral districts* which as constituencies we had won in 1961. This accounted for our post-election slogan 'Cheated, not defeated'.

The results clearly indicated a vote of confidence in the P.P.P. Government, for it was the only party to increase its percentage of votes. Indeed, had the elections been free and fair and not held prematurely, we would have secured an overall majority. Elections in late 1965, when they were due, would have brought more youths, and thus more pro-P.P.P. voters, on to the electoral roll. This explains why Duncan Sandys rejected the demand of the Legislature for a reduction of the voting age to 18.

It was against this background that I refused to tender my resignation after the Governor contravened U.K. conventions and failed to let me form the Government. Had he taken this route, it would no doubt have led to a P.P.P.-P.N.C. coalition or early elections which we would clearly have won again. Instead, the Governor asked Mr. Burnham, leader of the P.N.C. with only 40 per cent of the votes to form a minority government with the promised backing of the United Force (D'Aguiar's party). It was at this stage that the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Greenwood, appealed for my co-operation with an implied threat that he would have to resort to constitutional amendment, which he did not like, if I did not co-operate. In my reply, I pointed out that the list system of proportional representation had failed to achieve the objective of both Mr. Sandys and the local opposition. The main beneficiary of the P.R. system had been the Anglo-American imperialists and the ultra-reactionary United Force, which held the balance of power with only 12 per cent of the votes. I pleaded with Mr. Greenwood pointing out that it was still not too late to work out an amicable settlement—I myself had offered to the P.N.C. a coalition based on parity in the Council of Ministers and a negotiated settlement on the premiership.

Mr. Greenwood's answer was a constitutional amendment, clearing the way for a puppet pro-imperialist minority government headed by Burnham. (D'Aguiar's United Force formally joined the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government a fortnight later.) It is strange that Mr. Greenwood was taking such steps in British Guiana at the very moment when he was talking strongly about democratic socialism and international working-class solidarity to the Labour Party Annual Conference, 1964. Appealing for unity between right and left wings of the party, he said:

> So much is at stake. We are holding, and only just holding ramparts against a revival of reaction throughout the world. If we go down, comrades, reaction will have new prospects of success and countries which are looking to us with confidence to prove that democratic socialism works will be more inclined to adopt extreme methods in their despair and disillusionment.

It would seem that words are one thing, deeds another! In early 1962, after attacking communists for subversion and condemning Dr. Fidel Castro for denial of freedom and refusal to hold elections, the late President Kennedy in an interview with the editor of *Izvestia* said:

> The United States supports the idea that every people should have the right to make a free choice of the kind of Government they want. Mr. Jagan who was recently elected Prime Minister in British Guiana is a Marxist, but the United States doesn't object because that choice was made by honest election, which he won.

Writing in 1962 to former President Betancourt of Venezuela, President Kennedy spoke in similar terms:

> I should like through you to extend my congratulations and those of the people of this country to the people, government and armed forces of Venezuela for their action in preserving constitutional democracy against those who have attempted to overthrow your freely elected government.
>
> The preservation and strengthening of freely elected constitutional government is the aspiration of all the peoples of the Americas and progress in this continent under the Alianza para el Progress depends in large measure in effecting change through peaceful and democratic means and avoiding violent interruptions of the constitutional process.

President Johnson has repeated the same theme. Yet in British Guiana successive British administrations under the influence of the United States effected changes by force and rigged elections!

In Venezuela, the percentage of votes polled by Betancourt's Accion Democratica (A.D.) dropped from 49 per cent in 1958 to 32 per cent in 1964. Yet A.D.'s candidate, Sr. Leoni, heads the government. In British Guiana with 46 per cent of the popular vote in spite of rigged elections (this 46 per cent voting figure correlated to *population* would be equivalent to over 50 per cent) the P.P.P. is removed from the government. In the U.K. with parliamentary

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

majority of five and 44 per cent of the total votes, the Labour Party formed the government; in British Guiana with 46 per cent of the votes, and a parliamentary majority of five if we had not been forced to fight under the 'fiddled constitution', the P.P.P. is not only ousted from the government but is not even allowed to share in the government.

There are signs of grave dissatisfaction with the outcome of the elections. P.P.P. supporters feel cheated; many P.N.C.-U.F. supporters who neither expected nor agreed with the P.N.C.-U.F. coalition, find it distasteful, especially those P.N.C. supporters who had been led to believe that it was a 'democratic socialist' party. The coalition government has already demonstrated in only a few months in office that it is pro-imperialist, pro-big business and anti-working class. It is now strengthening the hands of the imperialists who have reserved to themselves the profitable sectors of production —sugar (British), bauxite, and manganese (North American), and the services (banking, insurance, shipping and foreign trade)—while the risky and unprofitable sectors, rice provision and fruit farming, are relegated to the local population. Sugar, bauxite and manganese alone account for more than three-quarters of the country's export income.

An agreement has now been signed with the Reynolds Metals Co. of the U.S.A. which will tie up our bauxite resources for 75 years, and potential areas of mineral oil have been handed over to three foreign oil companies. A branch of the powerful U.S. Chase Manhattan Bank is now to break into the British (Barclays Bank) and Canadian Royal (Bank of Canada) banking monopoly. The government proposes to launch a banana cultivation scheme which wil be under the control of Elders and Fyffes, a subsidiary of the powerful U.S. monopoly, the United Fruit Company. A tobacco growing scheme is likely to be placed under the control of the Demerara Tobacco Co. Ltd., a subsidiary of the British-American Tobacco Co. Meanwhile, loans and grants given by the U.S. are to be mainly used for the construction of a road linking Georgetown to the plant at Mackenzie of the Demerara Bauxite Co., a subsidiary of the Aluminium Co. of Canada, and for the dredging of the Berbice River to facilitate bauxite extraction by the Reynolds Metals Co.

All this spells more intensive exploitation of the resources of British Guiana and its people which now runs at a profit rate of about $50 million per year. Over the past 16 years (1948-64) with total investment of about $275 million, super-profits have been

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extracted amounting to $362 million. This does not include fixed assets which are estimated at about $200 million, and profits retained in the parent companies by the underpricing of our bauxite over many years.

The coalition government has made generous hand-outs to big business. The Savings Levy which the P.P.P. government introduced in 1962, based on a 10 per cent compulsory saving by companies and 5 per cent of salaries by individuals earning over $300 per month, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and has now been changed to a Voluntary Savings Scheme at 7 per cent interest, tax free. This is equivalent for companies to a rate of interest of over 10 per cent. When these loans have to be repaid at double the amount in nine years, the burden will be shifted to the working class. An indication of this has already been given. Taxes imposed in our Budget in 1962 on the imperialists and wealthy capitalists, have now been severely modified or abolished. A capital gains tax of 45 per cent has been reduced to 10 per cent. Other taxes—gift tax, turnover tax, property tax, etc.—have been abolished and exchange control has been severely tampered with.

Meanwhile, the country is facing a deepening economic crisis. Trade with Cuba in rice and timber has been curtailed. With falling world prices, the prospects of the sugar industry are bleak. Unemployment estimated at nearly 22 per cent of the labour force is growing and retrenchment of workers continues. The national debt continues to mount, increasing from $23 million in 1948 to $127 million in 1964. And annual debt charges to service the national debt have jumped from 5 per cent of government revenues in 1954 to 17 per cent in 1964. With the heavy dependence on foreign borrowings for economic development, mainly infra structure and social overheads, it is expected that by 1970 debt charges will reach nearly one-third of the country's annual revenues. There is every indication that faced with growing unemployment, land hunger, fiscal and other problems and the disenchantment of its own deluded supporters, the government will resort to Hitlerite fascist weapons of terror, anti-communism and racism. It will not be surprising if before long anti-labour legislation such as the Taft-Hartley Act of the U.S.A. and the Industrial Stabilisation Act of Trinidad, are enacted here. Soon after the elections a T.U.C. delegation, in reply to its request for the enactment of a national minimum wage, was told by the government that the trade unions must not expect the government to fight their battles. Government Ministers are now

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

openly attacking the working class; a few days ago one Minister attacked the workers for not pulling their weight.

There is also the definite danger that as soon as nominal independence is attained this coalition government, backed by American imperialism, will move to establish a Latin American fascist-type dictatorship. Since the December elections, it is ruling the country with an iron hand under a state of emergency. Seventeen P.P.P. leaders and activists are now in detention, the majority for more than a year. Included among the seventeen are Legislator and former Minister of Education, Mr. C. V. Nunes, and Joseph Jardim, Manager of the New Guiana Co. Ltd., the publishers of the *Mirror*, the only truly national newspaper.

The Guianese people are entering a new stage of political understanding and struggle. They see through the pretensions, hollowness and hypocrisy of the British and American governments. They now realise that all the utterances about freedom, democracy and peace are mere euphemisms for naked self-interest and that the big stick is still the major instrument of Anglo-American foreign policy. They are now on the march in search of bread, peace and freedom.

On its part, the P.P.P. sees the need for a political settlement which will result in a broad based government, democratic, non-aligned and anti-imperialist. It is demanding:

1. The end of emergency rule and release of all detainees.
2. New constitutional arrangements aimed at arriving at a political settlement.
3. New elections under changed electoral system and voting at 18.
4. The re-constitution of the Police and Security Forces so that they reflect a broad cross-section of the population of the country.
5. The withdrawal of the British army and the creation of a Guyanese National Army.
6. Democratisation of all institutions concerned with law and administration.

The P.P.P. makes these demands in the interest of a free and united Guiana, moving forward in peace and harmony.

It looks to the British labour movement to uphold the principles for which it stood and still stands for, and not to permit British Guiana and its people to be sacrificed at the altar of the Almighty Dollar.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the Morrow of the

The Dutch Social-Democrats intended to raise at the international congress of Socialists held in October, 1881, the question of what political and economic measures Socialists should take to ensure the triumph of Socialism, in the event of their coming to power. One of their leaders. Domela Nieuwenhuis, had written to MARX to ask his opinion.

22 February, 1881

'WHAT should be done at some definite moment in the future, done *directly*, depends of course entirely on the particular historical conditions in which they will have to act. But in the present case the question is put quite *abstractly*, presenting an essentially *fantastic* problem, and the only reply to it must be criticism of the *question* itself. *We cannot solve an equation which does not include in its data* the elements of its solution.

'Though, by the way, the difficulties of a government suddenly formed as a result of the victory of the people don't at all represent something specifically "Socialist". On the contrary, Bourgeois politicians who have been victorious at once feel themselves in difficulties on account of their "victory", while a Socialist can at the very least act without being inhibited. Of one thing you may be certain: a Socialist government will not come to power in a country where the conditions have not matured to such an extent that it will be possible by adopting the necessary measures, so to put a strait-jacket on the bourgeoisie that the first essential—to gain time for further action—will be achieved.

'You will perhaps refer me to the Paris Commune: but, apart altogether from the fact that this was the insurrection only of one city in exceptional conditions, the majority of the Commune was not at all Socialist, and could not be. Nevertheless, had it possessed a certain modicum of common sense, it might have secured a compromise with Versailles advantageous for the whole mass of the people—the sole thing then attainable. By the one act of seizing the Bank of France it would at once have put an end to the arrogance of the Versaillais, etc., etc.

'The general demands of the French bourgeoisie (*mutatis mutandis*) were before 1789 almost as definite as the first direct demands of the proletariat in our own day, approximately the same in all countries where capitalist production prevails. But had any Frenchman

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Socialist Revolution

of the 18th century beforehand, *a priori*, even the least conception of how the requirements of the French bourgeoisie would be fulfilled?

'Doctrinairism, the inevitably fantastic prevision of the programme of action of the future revolution, only distracts from the struggle of the present day. The fantasy of the coming end of the world inspired *the present day.'*

Karl Marx

(*Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 35.* First English translation.)

In 1922-3 one of the Menshevik writers, Sukhanov, published 'Notes on the Russian Revolution' in several volumes, in which he strove to prove that the October Revolution should not have taken place. LENIN devoted one of his last articles, Our Revolution **to these Notes (January 16 and 17, 1923). From this article we take the following passages:**

'INFINITELY stereotyped, for instance, is the argument they learned by rote during the development of West-European Social-Democracy, namely, that we are not yet ripe for Socialism: that, as certain "learned" gentlemen among them put it, the objective economic premises for Socialism do not exist in our country. It does not occur to any of them to ask, but what about a people that found itself in a revolutionary situation such as that created during the first imperialist war? Might it not, influenced by the hopelessness of its situation, fling itself into a struggle that would offer it at least some chance of securing conditions for the further development of civilisation that were somewhat unusual? . . .

'You say that civilisation is necessary for the building of Socialism. Very good. But why could we not first create such pre-requisites of civilisation in our country as the expulsion of the landowners and the Russian capitalists, and then start moving towards Socialism. Where, in what books, have you read that such variations of the customary historical order of events are impermissible or impossible?'

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Forty-Eighth Anniversary of the October Revolution

TWO KINDS OF PLAN

Andrew Rothstein

ONCE again, as for many years past, the Labour Party leaders promise the British people planned prosperity through alliance between workers and monopoly capitalists. Their 'National Plan' published on September 17 promises an increase in output of 25 per cent in five years, and all kinds of consequent benefits, if only . . . the owners of private industry, by their 'assembly of forecasts and plans "help" in planning the public sector', while they in their turn learn from government experience. They will 'continue to be largely governed by the market economy'—in plain English, to run their enterprises for private profit; but the Labour Government none the less pledges support for their amalgamation into still larger monopolies, where this would 'increase competitive efficiency'.

This vision of a Transport House heaven through the help of capitalist trusts is not new in British politics. In 1945 the Labour Party's election manifesto, *Let Us Face The Future,* too promised a national plan, in which the Government would keep 'a firm constructive hand on our whole productive machinery'—while giving 'an appropriate place to constructive enterprise and private endeavour' (*i.e.,* to the capitalists). At the 1950 election, *Let Us Win Through Together* said there could be no advance without planning—and called for private enterprise to co-operate, indeed to maintain, a 'flourishing partnership' with Government and workers, provided it gave up such sordid things as 'price rings and rigged markets'. In 1955, *Forward With Labour* also promised to 'plan the nation's resources'—in co-operation with 'progressive managements', even to see that 'the claims of investment and modernisation come first': and only to penalise those who 'get their money too easily through *excessive* profits, capital gains and inheritance'.

The only difference is that earlier promises were made in the name of Socialism, while Mr. Brown's 'Plan', not being made at election time, does not use the word. But what have all these promises led to during these twenty years? Is private profit any less the governing motive in the management of the 80 per cent of the national economy which is privately owned (and in that of much of the remaining 20 per cent, if the truth be told)? Are the capitalist

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

monopolies any less the mainstay of the Tory Party, financially and otherwise? Is control of the machinery of State—through the directing personnel of the armed forces, the police, the higher judiciary, the Foreign Office and Colonial Office, the Church of England, the House of Lords, the Crown and its functionaries—any less in the hands of the owners and defenders of capitalist property than it was in 1945? Is the policy of repression in British Guiana, in Malaysia, in South Arabia, is the noticeable volume of Tory support for the white racialists in Southern Rhodesia, any less actuated by concern for British large-scale capitalist investments than it was then?

The answer is perfectly clear to any honest Socialist of today, as it would have been to Robert Blatchford and William Morris, H. M. Hyndman and Keir Hardie seventy years ago. Britain remains as much under the rule of monopoly capitalism, for all the talk of 'democratic socialism' and for all the nationalisation of the mines, railways and Bank of England, as it was twenty years ago.

It is appropriate to remember these things when the Soviet Union, and Socialists the world over, are preparing to celebrate the 48th anniversary of the day when 'Socialists—genuine and not make-believe Socialists—seized the reins of power' (the word of *The Call*, the British Socialist Party's weekly, on November 29, 1917). It is appropriate likewise to remember an observation by Lenin, in an address to the fourth Congress of the Communist International (November 1922), when dealing with the experience of a Socialist Government working *without* monopoly capitalists and *against* them:

> I said we have done a host of foolish things, but I must also say a word or two in this respect about our enemies. If our enemies blame us and say that Lenin himself admits that the Bolsheviks have done a host of foolish things, I want to reply to this: yes, but you know, the foolish things we have done are none the less very different from yours. We have only just begun to learn, but are learning so methodically that we are certain to achieve good results. But since our enemies, *i.e.*, the capitalists and the heroes of the Second International, lay stress on the foolish things we have done, I take the liberty, for the sake of comparison, to cite the words of a celebrated Russian author, which I shall amend to read as follows: if the Bolsheviks do foolish things, the Bolshevik says, 'twice two are five', but when their enemies, *i.e.*, the capitalists and the heroes of the Second International, do foolish things, they amount to, 'Twice two are a tallow candle'.

Anyone who does not see how appropriately the latter quotation sums up the so-called planning of so-called democratic socialism (by leave of the monopoly capitalists) since 1945, need only read Turgenev's novel *Rudin*, from which Lenin was quoting.

But the historic fact is that Lenin's prophecy, 'we are certain to

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

achieve good results' has been justified in spite of all difficulties and errors, in spite of a certain slowing-down (not abandonment) of advance during the period of the cult of Stalin, and above all in spite of the huge and frightful losses suffered during the second world war. The mistakes made by the Bolsheviks did *not* include such mistakes as were made by the Labour Government of 1945, with its vast parliamentary majority and with a whole people rebellious in spirit and ready to support it.

They abolished private ownership of industry, the commercial banks, the land, foreign trade, shipping, insurance and newspapers. They made century-old demands of the trade unions—equal pay for equal work for women in all occupations, a shorter working day and vocational training for youth, full protection for works' committee members and shop stewards in the factories, control of industrial safety and health regulations by the unions, union approval to be essential for any labour legislation, wages schemes and output quotas—the law of the land. They made the former colonial peoples of the Tsarist Empire feel that they were in fact as well as in law the equals of the Russians, not only by driving out the landowners and kulaks who exploited them, but also by helping to expand their industries, agriculture, education and other social services as fast as (often faster than) in Russia itself. In management of factories and farms, in municipal affairs and in supervising the working of government institutions, in nomination of candidates and in examining qualifications of applicants for membership of the Communist Party itself, the Bolsheviks drew millions more of their fellow-citizens into public activity.

These and such things are responsible for the successes which the Soviet Union has to register, and relying on which its leaders were able to enter upon such critical assessments and *real* national plans as were discussed at the September 1965 meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the October meeting of the Supreme Soviet.

Industrial output in 1964 was about 55 times as great as in 1913 (in the same territory), 7 times as great as in 1940, over 4 times as great as in 1950: what is more, it made the Soviet Union second only to the United States in industry, producing nearly two-thirds as much as the U.S.A. in 1964, against one-eighth in 1913.

This is what gave Kosygin the confidence, at the Central Committee, to point out that the increasing speed and complexity of expanding Soviet industry required, once again, a change in methods

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and forms of industrial management—giving up what had done well enough in past years, but had now outlived its usefulness and had become a hindrance instead of a help. Under this heading came the proposals for making *profit* one of the few real tests for the success of planned production by Soviet factories which aroused such premature joy in the capitalist press (dealt with several times in this journal). The extensive explanation by Professor Liberman, in the simple language necessary for the victims of capitalist propaganda, which the *Sunday Times* Business Section (October 10) has recently published, marks as it were the surrender of anti-Soviet propagandists in this sphere. Under this heading, too, came the abolition of the 104 regional economic councils— though not without some tributes to the good work they had done earlier—and the restoration of 27 industrial ministries, though not with the same powers of interference in every petty detail of factory management as in the past.

On no aspect of the Soviet economy has so much lofty scorn—and so much gross ignorance, putting it charitably—been displayed by British 'Kremlinologists' as agriculture. Listen to a few choice examples recently. 'Stuck hopelessly in the mud' (Crankshaw in the *Observer,* July 18) and requiring 'salvage' (September 26); a 'sorry mess' (*Economist,* August 21); 'paradox and tragedy of . . . what used to be the granary of Europe' (*The Times,* September 4)—and so on, *ad nauseam.* Now the fact is that, *with less than half the number of people employed in agriculture as compared with 1913 (Tsarist Russia's peak year),* and with a population to feed just over 40 per cent larger than in that year, the Soviet Union in 1964 produced 75 per cent more grain, and 180 per cent more wheat! '33 per cent more meat, 60 per cent more milk, 200 per cent more sugar and 170 per cent more vegetables are now being produced, *per head of population.* It should be borne in mind, too, that before 1917 the wealthy classes ate more than their fair share' (P. S. Mstislavsky, *Soviet Economy,* 1962, p. 18).

Moreover, if statistics mean anything, the lesson they teach is blindingly clear—that the change is due to public ownership of the land, and its planned management by the (at present) 37,600 collective farms, and 10,000 State farms. Here are the figures for a few basic products (and note that the last line includes the very bad harvest of 1963). They are taken from the annual publications of the Central Statistical Department.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Output (million tons) average yearly	*Grain*	*Wheat*	*Sugar Beet*	*Cotton*
1909-13	72·5	21	10·1	0·68
1928-32 (1st 5-Year Plan) ...	73·6	21·7	9·8	1·03
1933-37 (2nd 5-Year Plan) ...	72·9	25·4	14·6	1·84
1938-40 (3rd 5-Year Plan) ...	77·9	30·9	15·8	2·51
1949-53	80·9	34·5	21·1	3·49
1954-58	113·2	58·3	35·5	4·19
1959-64 (six years of 7-Year Plan) ...	134·2	65·8	54·0	4·71

What a 'sorry mess', indeed—and how much sorrier it must have been in 1913, when Tsarist Russia was the 'granary of Europe', at the expense of its peasants and workmen, kept down to the lowest possible standard of nutrition and health!

It is not surprising that, knowing of figures like these, the anti-Soviet propagandists prefer to take refuge in mare's nests like the one launched by the *British United Press* Moscow correspondent on August 8. The figures given above explain why Soviet collective farmers eat better, are clothed and housed better, enjoy better health and longer lives, and have incomparably greater amenities, than in the happy days of 'private enterprise'. But they are far from satisfied, nor are the Soviet people, nor is the C.P.S.U.: they want far greater improvements—and this desire is constantly reflected in the Soviet newspapers. In one such paper, *Komsomolskaya Pravda,* an article appeared by an agronomist, working on a State farm in Kazakhstan (Central Asia). He suggested making teams of workers on such farms responsible (to the management) for making *their* section of the job a paying proposition for a period of years, instead of under contract from year to year as at present—a proposition, like any other, to be considered on its merits. The correspondent read into this that it meant 'breaking up the big State and collective farms into smaller units owned by the men who farm them'—and that this was 'regarded' (by whom?) as a 'trial balloon' in which 'the Kremlin is strongly interested', because the paper is 'a leading newspaper of the Communist Party'.

Immediately a hullabaloo broke out. 'Russia tries private farming' was the headline in the *Guardian* next day—though, to be fair, it printed a letter from the present writer on August 17 exposing the nonsense, and has not returned to it. Inevitably Mr.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crankshaw jumped in: 'It suggests nothing less than the break-up of the whole system of collective and State farming which has been the sacred cow of the Soviet leadership and the bane of the Russian people' (*Observer*, August 15). The sorry mess had brought debate 'into the public arena', communicated the *Economist* on August 21: the suggestion 'amounts to a quiet revolution'. Much later—late enough for its experts to have noticed that no one, either in 'the Kremlin' or elsewhere, backs any such 'revolution'—*The Times* thundered in (September 9): 'juridical ownership over the land' was to be passed over to groups of five or six peasants (in fact, 'ownership' had not been mentioned), 'the question of land ownership has been raised', and so on, with many grave saws and wise sayings on how a personal incentive of this kind would 'increase production and stop having to import wheat'.

The allegations of 'going back to capitalist profits' in industry and 'going back to private farming' in agriculture are only two of the more outstanding examples of the lengths capitalist propagandists are going as the Soviet Union advances towards Communist society. In one sense they do not represent anything new. The building of Socialism had to start without any blue-print, as the writings printed elsewhere in this issue show: it was sufficient to begin with such 'prerequisites of civilisation' as expropriating the landowners and capitalists. After that, it was a question of trial and error, with only the big targets of Socialism—recognised by all British Socialists before the days of Ramsay MacDonald, Hugh Gaitskell and Harold Wilson—to guide them. Every time the Bolsheviks changed their methods of economic organisation—from the New Economic Policy in 1921 onwards—the inevitable howl of delight went up, and the hopeful prophecies of breakdown which remind one of nothing so much as an old Russian proverb: 'A hungry chicken dreams of millet'. The present is just such a time.

But the present, too, recalls the proverb in a different way. George Brown's 'National Plan'—and Edward Heath's performance of October 7 ('Putting Britain Right Ahead') too—read like dreams of that same poor chicken. At a time when the inexorable laws of capitalism are once again coming into play and beginning to test severely the pretensions of 'Democratic Socialism'—which is another way of saying 'democratic capitalism'—the successes of real Socialism need to be hushed up, or at least distorted and caricatured. Those who really want Socialism in Britain, not merely talk about Socialism, will know what to do with these distortions.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VIETNAM

[With the launching of the National Ballot of the British Council for Peace in Vietnam, we are pleased to print this article by the General Secretary of the South Wales Area of the National Union of Mineworkers, which has decided to give every pit in South Wales the opportunity to vote on the Ballot.—Ed., L.M.]

I. MINERS AND VIETNAM

D. Francis

General Secretary, South Wales Area National Union of Mineworkers

THE miners of South Wales have long supported the struggle of Vietnam for peace and national independence. They have done so by resolutions passed at Area and Annual Conferences of the Union. They have contributed financially, they support the British Council for peace in Vietnam and its local counterpart in Wales. They took part in the great lobby of Parliament on June 30.

The miners followed the heroic struggles against the French occupation and welcomed the victories which opened the way to the Geneva Agreements of 1954. There followed the systematic violations of those Agreements by the U.S.A. and the persecution of the patriotic population of South Vietnam by a succession of puppet Governments.

A new liberation struggle developed which led by the National Liberation Front of all patriotic elements has already won control of four-fifths of the territory and liberated over half the population.

As always the words of James Connolly were true: 'Revolutions do not begin with guns'. The only weapons the N.L.F. started with were home-made or captured from the demoralised conscripts of the puppet forces.

Heroic struggles were met with savage repression and terrorism directed against the civilian population, and by direct American armed intervention. For the first time in history the evidence of atrocity and terrorism is shamelessly and freely provided by the accredited reporters and photographers of the aggressor.

Hundreds of millions of dollars were poured into the coffers of puppet Prime Ministers, the latest of them Air Marshal Cao Ky who believes the answer to Vietnam problems is half a dozen Hitlers. Hundreds of tons of napalm bombs were poured on the villages of the countryside.

Unable to slow the advance of the liberation forces by these

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

means, unable to defeat the N.L.F. on the ground, the Pentagon adopted a new tactic.

Terror bombing was extended to independent North Vietnam. Targets were the civilian population and its painfully constructed industrial base. Millions are threatened by death with drowning or starvation, as the Pentagon loudly debates with itself whether to destroy the dams. At the same time China is threatened.

Unable to win in South Vietnam on the field of battle, the U.S.A. hopes to frighten the friends of N.L.F. into persuading it to abandon the struggle. At the same time she presses her own friends to commit themselves deeper and deeper by getting Australia to provide troops, getting Britain to provide training facilities and advice on building strategic villages (concentration camps).

In these developments the miners of South Wales see a new dimension in the Vietnam situation, the growing danger of a third world war. It is not only a question of whether we can tolerate the bombing of our fellow-men on the other side of the world, but whether the bombs may not soon fall on us.

When the Americans desperately gamble on destroying the fighting morale of Vietnam by terrifying her friends into deserting her, they miscalculated, just as they miscalculated at the Bay of Pigs. Vietnam will not be deserted and when the bluff fails the U.S.A. will have the choice of getting out or making good her threats.

If there is such a threat of a third world war, should not the Vietnamese themselves be asked to be more moderate, more reasonable? The answer is simply that the position of the N.L.F. based on the Geneva Agreements is already so moderate that it could not be made more reasonable short of total surrender to American dominance.

It is the U.S.A. therefore which must be brought to reason. For Britain that means a reversal of the disastrous policy of support for American aggression, and in its place a policy of peace in Vietnam based on the just demands of the people themselves. To win that reversal we must educate public opinion in the realities of what is happening in Vietnam and the dangers to our own country. We must mobilise the entire labour movement, reverse the vote of the Labour Party Conference, and change the policy of our Labour Government. Efforts towards this end are also being made by dozens of Labour Members of Parliament as was witnessed at the Labour Party Conference.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These are the reasons for the stand taken by the South Wales Area of the National Union of Mineworkers on Vietnam and the reasons for its support for the National Ballot of the British Council for Peace in Vietnam at every pithead in South Wales by decision of the Executive Council on October 5.

2. COMMENTATORS ON VIETNAM

COMMANDER E. P. YOUNG, R.N. RTD.

Vietnam: The Truth
William Warbey, M.P.
The Merlin Press. 10s. 6d.

THIS IS A TIMELY book to expose the lies and misrepresentations which have been widely propagated. The author's interview with the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Michael Stewart, on February 9, 1965, which he describes in detail, showed that he was up against a Labour Government which is as determined as was that of 1945 —with no small majority in Parliament to plead in excuse of its dastardliness—to back anyone who would wage an essentially counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist war against the Vietnamese people with the object of maintaining its own imperialist position in South-East Asia. The shameful history of this earlier indirect war of intervention by a British 'Socialist' Government, is appropriately recalled in Chap. 2.

There are a few errors in detail regarding matters relevant to the present situation. One of these, which would seem worthy of mention, is that the main reason why Mr. Eden was so insistent at the Geneva Conference, 1954, that the provisional 'demarcation line' should be at the 17th Parallel, and not at the 16th, as had been agreed at Potsdam for purposes of disarming the Japanese, was that it would remove from control by the Vietnamese People's Army of Liberation, Route Coloniale No. 9, which gives access from the sea to Laos. This is shown clearly on a map on page 279 of *La Fin d'une Guerre*, by Jean Lacouture and Philippe Devillers, and the mention of it would add force to William Warbey's argument (p. 47) that Phan Van Dong was reconciled to the major concession involved by the fact that both Vietnam and Laos were guaranteed against any abuse of it by all the countries which were parties to the Geneva Agreement, 1954, including, of course, Great Britain. Earlier on (p. 29), there is a mistake of less contemporary consequence but which would seem to call for correction, when Warbey suggests that Admiral Lord Mountbatten was not party to General Gracey's irregular intervention which brought the French back into Indo-China in 1945. Whatever may have been the orders telegraphed by 'the Supremo' to General Gracey, it will be found in Philippe Deviller's *Histoire du Viet Nam* (pp. 149-150) that Mountbatten provided the French General Leclerc with the armaments, equipment and sea transport without which he could not have invaded Vietnam at Saigon.

Vietnam: No. 1. in the Read-In Series. *Eyre & Spottiswoode.* 5*s.*

DESCRIBED BY ITS PUBLISHERS as 'a cross between a big magazine and a typewritten dossier' this is a bold and generally successful attempt to provide the background information required for the conduct of a 'teach-in' on Vietnam by people who might otherwise feel incompetent to do this. It can serve a dual purpose by putting participants in such a 'teach-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in' in a position to challenge authoritatively the lies and misrepresentations to which professed 'experts' who are incited to lead the discussion have shown themselves prone.

It consists of a comprehensive selection of quotations from official statements and documents, from authoritative books and articles, and from the speeches of responsible statesmen in the countries more directly concerned in the issue of Vietnam, linked together by brief editorial comment by the Chief Editor, Robin Murray, to fill in gaps, as required, and to give some continuity to the discussion. But readers may find it difficult to detect quickly what is quotation and what is editorial commentary.

Its greatest value, for British readers, is perhaps that it places at their disposal many devastating exposures and denunciations of U.S. policy which have been published in the U.S.A., but which most editors in Britain have been at pains to tone down, where they have published them at all. A classic example of this is the egregious White Paper entitled 'Aggression from the North' published by the U.S. State Department on February 17, 1965, and its masterly destructive analysis in *I. F. Stone's Weekly* of March 8. There are some deplorable gaps, however, such as the complete ignoring of the excellent bulletins published for many years now by the British Vietnam Committee.

The Making of a Quagmire

David Halberstam

The Bodley Head, 30s.

AS A READER OF THE *New York Times* I think that David Halberstam fully deserved to win the Pulitzer Prize in the spring of 1964 for his courageous reports in that newspaper on the U.S. war against Vietnam. I was looking forward therefore to reading his book, now published in this country, and I read with interest and approval until I got to the last chapter.

This starts off all right with: 'No westerner can return from Vietnam a proud or satisfied man. If he has any conscience at all he goes home with a profound sense of inadequacy. The failure of the West in Indo-China has been unnecessary, expensive and bloody.' Having elaborated further on this theme, he amazes and shocks me by the following inconsistent statement, which he subsequently tries vainly to justify: 'What about withdrawal? Few Americans who have served in Vietnam can stomach this idea. It means that those Vietnamese who committed themselves fully to the United States will suffer the most under a Communist government while we lucky few with blue passports retire unharmed; it means a drab, lifeless and controlled society for a people who deserve better. Withdrawal also means that the United States' prestige will be lowered throughout the world, and it means that the pressure of Communism on the rest of South East Asia will intensify. Lastly, withdrawal means that throughout the world the enemies of the West will be encouraged to try insurgencies like the one in Vietnam . . . an anti-Communist victory in Vietnam would serve to discourage so-called wars of liberation'. This might have been written by Michael Stewart or by Harold Wilson

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'AFRICAN' SOCIALISM

Kofi Batsa
Editor of *The Spark*
(A Socialist Weekly of the African Revolution, published in Ghana)

THE battle for Africa's future is on. Succeeding independence comes the question, 'What now, socialism or some substitute which will leave us still dominated by imperialism, but under new guises?' In answer we see the emergence of conflicting ideologies, more sharply defined than ever before.

Conceding defeat in relation to political independence, British and French imperialism, now joined by the United States and West Germany, are trying to preserve through new forms, the essence of the imperialist relationship. That is what we mean by the neo-colonialist threat.

This is being resisted by a number of states, among them Ghana, whose Party and Government are based ideologically on Nkrumaism, the application of Marxism-Leninism to African conditions. Neo-colonialism is countering by developing new ideologies as alternatives to scientific socialism in Africa. 'African Socialism' is the name given to one of the most prominent.

In December 1962 there was a conference in Dakar on 'African Ways to Socialism'. Leopold Senghor, pro-French Senegalese President, advocate of Negritude, was a leading participant. Also participating were Lord Listowel, James Callaghan, at that time Labour Party spokesman on Colonial Affairs, Guy Mollet, Mendès-France, Moshe Sharrett, then Israeli Foreign Minister, and Harris Wofford, special adviser to the late President Kennedy.

They failed to define 'African Socialism', though Senghor later wrote a book on the subject and other works followed, the latest being an official statement launched by Tom Mboya, *African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya.*

First the advocates of 'African Socialism' try to discredit Marxism. They claim that scientific socialism dogmatically seeks to apply European experience to Africa. By saying this they at once try to damn scientific socialism and reinforce African chauvinism. This is developed with their assertion that European experience is irrelevant to Africa. What in fact they reject as irrelevant is the experience of countries where scientific socialism has succeeded, while completely accepting typical European reformist and social democratic ideas.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marxism is attacked in yet another way. Ignoring the developments of Leninism, the People's Democracies, programmes like *The British Road to Socialism*, Nkrumaism, they advance the old argument that Marxism is simply what Marx said about British conditions in the 19th century during the Industrial Revolution. They then announce that Marxism is out of date because the capitalism he analysed no longer exists.

Six basic characteristics of 'African Socialism' emerge:

1. It ignores the power of monopoly capital.
2. It accepts the mixed economy as a permanent feature of socialism.
3. It denies the existence of classes in Africa and advances the idea of the neutral state.
4. It advocates a multi-party system where possible, or a single party open to all, irrespective of beliefs, with a specific denial of any vanguard rôle.
5. The African element of the theory consists of a romantic interpretation of our traditional morals and culture.
6. Positive non-alignment is treated as neutrality.

Limited space allows only the briefest of replies to these ideas. African, Latin American and Asian experience proves that political independence never automatically frees us from foreign capitalist domination. The advocates of 'African Socialism' seem to think it does. This is why their policies seem never to deal with the real world. They deliberately conceal the continued domination, especially of our economic life, by monopoly capitalism. They ignore the problem of stages of development. Now after political independence, we have to move on to de-colonise all other aspects of our national life. If we pretend that imperialism and neo-colonialism are already dead, we step back into the trap set for us.

The successful construction of socialism assumes the complete elimination of colonial relations, and as rapidly as possible. This does not contradict the fact that all African countries, because of their chronically under-developed economies, need to mobilise all possible sources of economic growth. A mixed economy is a feature of the transitional stage from dependence to socialism, but it is essential that the state sector should grow proportionately the quickest and in the key branches.

The Kenya programme explicitly rejects the principle that ownership decides control. It proposes varied forms of ownership, with state ownership where private investment does not find it advantageous—this to be permanent. Economic activities detrimental to the nation as a whole, will be controlled by planning and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

taxation. Note the strong resemblance to British Labour Party policy here! There are no proposals about breaking the grip of foreign capital on the country's economic life, apart from the suggestion that Africans might be allowed to buy shares in foreign concerns, thus presumably helping to form a Kenyan capitalist class. (How they accumulate enough to buy shares is not made clear!) Foreign firms are to be asked to appoint Africans as managers, though it seems that profits will continue to flow in the traditional direction—abroad.

Fiscal measures will not correct the distortion in our economies. Our basic problem is how to accumulate enough to invest in balanced agriculture and modern industry, to free ourselves from dependence on a single primary crop sold in the capitalist world market. Only socialist ownership can ultimately mobilise and control our national resources to achieve this.

All reformists believe that the state is neutral. 'African Socialists' fail to see that their states are inherited from the former colonial powers and need drastic transformation to protect independence and carry forward the task of total de-colonisation. It is also untrue to assert that classes do not exist in African societies. There is strong evidence to show the existence of forms of exploitation even in the pre-imperialist period. It is true that the indigenous capitalist class is very weak. The working class is relatively small, although often well organised and experienced. Its growth was a determining factor in the fight for independence. The class alliances built to win independence are still needed in this period of national reconstruction and to defend us against neo-colonialism. Pretending that classes do not exist would lead to the collapse of these alliances with the danger of the African bourgeoisie and intelligentsia coming under the influence of neo-colonialist ideas and policies.

The leadership of the working class in fraternal relations with working farmers and other working people and allied with the small national bourgeoisie has to be continually consolidated as new conditions arise to ensure the success of total de-colonisation. It will be possible to avoid the development of a significant African capitalist class in these circumstances. Here the leadership of a Party united on scientific principles is vital. 'African Socialists' fail to understand the need for real leadership by a political party of a new type because of their false philosophy.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To claim that Africa is different from Europe, with quite special circumstances is part of the confidence trick. Obviously Africa has special features. Scientific socialists in Africa and everywhere else, take these into account. Our main problem at present is our lack of precise knowledge of pre-imperialist social formations and even about the existing structure. Invoking tribal collectivism, the 'African Socialists' say that this moral and political superstructure can be transplanted into modern Africa. Apart from the fact that they sentimentalise much of our past traditions, they also ignore the low technical level of tribal societies and the qualitative differences in social organisation between it and modern industrialised societies. They say that this tribal morality already embodies the essential features of a socialist way of life, and that it is therefore mere dogmatism to insist on introducing socialist production relations, with all the upheavals that might bring.

There is considerable confusion in Africa about the meaning of positive non-alignment. Some think it means we pull out of world politics completely, others that we divide our favours fifty-fifty between the two world systems. 'African Socialism' scarcely bothers to conceal its hostility to the socialist world; it takes no stand against military bases on African soil; it makes no attempt to analyse the causes of war or where the danger to peace comes from. Inevitably it lines up with the imperialist countries on questions of international relations and peace.

These are some of the features of 'African Socialism'. Its links with neo-colonialism are obvious. It is an eclectic conglomeration of ideas mainly drawn from British reformism and European social democracy, with a little United States anti-communism thrown in. It is specially designed to combat scientific socialism in Africa.

In Ghana we fight for scientific socialism in the spirit expressed in the following statements by our President, Kwame Nkrumah: '. . . science has no geographical limitations. The duty of Africa is to embrace these universal principles of socialism while giving institutional forms that take into account our African background and heritage'. And 'There is no such thing as African Socialism. There is only Scientific Socialism which is valid the world over'.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BONN MARCHES ON

John Peet*

LET us begin with two quotations from editorials in British newspapers, commenting on the results of a German election. Here is the first: 'Can the cause of tranquility in Europe, and the hope of disarmament, be favoured by the triumph in Germany of a party of violently aggressive nationalism?'. And the second quotation states: 'The fault of the Social Democrats has been that their leaders have waited with the patience of exhaustion for the masses to come to them, as they believe they inevitably must. It is one of time's bitter comedies that now, while France genuinely seeks a reorientation of policy, Germany should come into the hands of men whose every past declaration of foreign affairs has been a threat to peace'.

They are percipient statements. With the substitution of 'West Germany' for 'Germany' they might well have been comments upon the West German elections held on September 19, 1965. In fact, however, they are thirty-two years old; they come from the British press of March 7, 1933, just after the elections which confirmed Hitler in power. The first of these timely quotations is from the *Daily Telegraph*, and the second from the *Manchester Guardian*.

It would of course be absurd to equate the situation in Germany today with that in 1933. Chancellor Ludwig Erhard whose Christian Democratic Union was re-elected in the 1965 election with a larger proportion of the votes than ever before, is no Hitler; the whole balance of economic and military forces in the world has changed radically since 1933; and in particular, the militarist and reactionary forces in Germany no longer control the whole of Germany, for the eastern part of the country, the German Democratic Republic, has taken the socialist path.

But nevertheless there are similarities which cannot be brushed aside. The big business forces which helped Hitler to power are still in control of the West German state today; they have the same aims as they had in 1933—the overthrow of the Socialist countries, a revision of the German frontiers, and German hegemony in Europe; and their political representatives often speak in the same language, as became particularly clear during the election campaign. Franz-Josef Strauss, most outspoken right-winger amongst the Christian Democrats, stated on September 16:

*John Peel is the Editor of *Democratic German Report*.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> We are the third strongest industrial power in the world. We have something to say again in the world. We already have the economic power; now we must match it with political power.

And a constant thread throughout the Christian Democratic election campaign was the clamour for nuclear weapons as an expression of West German political power. Former Chancellor Adenauer, for instance, described the Geneva talks on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as 'a tragedy for Germany' and Herr Strauss threatened the rise of a 'new Hitler' if West Germany was not given access to nuclear weapons.

The other two parties which won seats in the new Bonn parliament, the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats, provided a similar programme of armaments and preparedness, though sometimes in a more muted form. The election posters of all three main parties were practically indistinguishable, presenting slogans promising 'Security' and backed with maps of the German frontiers of 1937. The election posters, and the campaign speeches of all three main parties promised implicitly or explicitly that these parties would aim at the re-integration into the German state of the western third of Poland and a considerable portion of the Soviet Union (the Kaliningrad region); though, of course, the present frontiers of Germany were fixed by the Potsdam Agreement and obviously could not be changed today except by war.

The Social Democrats, the only opposition party returned to Parliament (the Free Democrats have hitherto formed a coalition government with the Christian Democrats which is expected to continue), failed to present any clear alternative to the present course of West German policy. Though they offered vaguely-worded recipes for taking a course of 'small steps' towards reconciliation with the socialist countries, they failed signally to give the slightest indication that they would, if elected, make any attempt to break the cold war ice-flow in central Europe by adopting a realistic attitude towards the German Democratic Republic. This is the keystone to any progress towards a European settlement.

One element which must not be overlooked in assessing the results of the West German elections is the very long-term brainwashing to which the people of West Germany have been exposed. For the past thirty-two years at least, since 1933, the mass organs of public opinion (with a very short gap between 1945 and about 1947) have been telling the people of West Germany that 'Bolshevism' is the main enemy. In addition, the schoolbooks, the newspapers, the radio and the television in West Germany today insist that Germany

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was not liberated from fascism in 1945 by the Allied armies, but that the 'valiant German Wehrmacht' was defeated, but most concede that some things Hitler did were really rather unfortunate).

The effect of this all-pervasive propaganda was displayed in a slightly ludicrous way in late September when the West German publicity chief for British Overseas Airlines banned the use of a very attractive photo of Marlene Dietrich in B.O.A.C. advertisements, on the grounds that most West Germans felt that Marlene had 'betrayed' Germany by singing for Allied troops instead of returning to Germany and supporting Hitler's war.

This example may be ludicrous, but it demonstrates clearly one factor which may have helped Erhard to defeat Willy Brandt, the Social Democratic leader. Willie Brandt, whatever one may think of his policies today, was an anti-Nazi. He was forced by the nazis to emigrate to Scandinavia, where he played some part in the resistance movement. During the election the Christian Democrats launched a vicious whispering campaign against Brandt because of this alleged black mark on his record, and many observers believe that this may have cost him and his party a considerable number of votes.

What should the rest of the world do in a situation in which the majority of the people in West Germany appear to be unable or unwilling to put a stop to an exceedingly dangerous development? A useful suggestion was given on September 28 by the Swedish writer Lars Gyllenstren, writing in the influential liberal Stockholm newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*. He wrote:

> The results of the West German elections show that chauvinism is growing to such an extent that it will soon be difficult to control. In this situation it is high time that it should be stopped by political opinion outside the German frontiers making it quite clear that West Germany will be isolated if it indulges in dangerous measures or acts of provocation.

The author went on to urge the recognition 'in some form or other' of the G.D.R. within its present frontiers.

Recognition by western states such as France and Britain would compel the powers that be in West Germany to reconsider their position. It would also greatly strengthen the hands of those forces inside West Germany, including a considerable part of the trade union movement, which are today moving towards a realistic assessment of the realities in Europe but find themselves shackled by the official West German taboo that the German Democratic Republic does not exist.

In the mobilisation of world public opinion necessary to check West Germany, the British labour movement has a key rôle to play.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LAND NATIONALISATION'S GHOST

Tom Vernon*

ALMOST one year after the General Election the Government have revealed the manner in which it is proposed to implement the plans outlined in the Labour Party's Election Programme, and in earlier publications, for ending the racket in land. These proposals are set out in *The Land Commission* (Cmnd. 2771), a White Paper presented by the Minister of Land and Natural Resources and the Secretary of State for Scotland.

The proposals have no resemblance to the pre-election plans, though that of itself does not deny them any merit, of course. Yet it cannot be disregarded that a particular 'promise' is not being kept. The Labour Party plans involved the automatic transfer to public ownership of all land immediately it became the subject of a planning consent for development, or re-development. This was a considerable retreat from the proposal urgently advocated by the late Hugh Gaitskell in his closing years to nationalise all urban land, yet even that compromise project has now been abandoned. The plans also involved the present 'use' value of land and not the much larger 'development' value, together with a little extra as sweetener to induce negotiation by prospective developers in place of holding land off the market. Instead, full market price is to be paid leaving 'betterment' in the hands of the seller, but relieving him of just some of it through a levy starting at merely 40 per cent.

Under the proposals of the White Paper, land acquisition by the State (through a new public authority, The Land Commission) will be:

(*a*) through purchase by agreement where land may be needed for development;

(*b*) by compulsory purchase where an owner has land 'which ought to be developed' but is unwilling to sell to anyone; such land would have to qualify for compulsory acquisition through the existence of a planning decision 'that it is suitable for development'.

Initially these compulsory powers will be limited, *i.e.*, to land where early development is desirable or where it is desirable to secure development 'as a whole'; to land required by a public authority (possessing compulsory purchase powers); and to land to be disposed of to housing associations or through local authorities or 'directly on concessionary terms for private housing'.

*Councillor Tom Vernon is President of the National Association of Tenants and Residents.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The requisite planning decision will include any planning decision, allocation of land in development plans for the site of a new town or pieces of land designated for some public purpose by a local planning authority. Present compulsory powers of public authorities will not be interfered with and the Commission will intervene only by their agreement, or should the Ministers direct.

At some future date (allegedly, when the Commission have fully built up their organisation) the Commission will get its comprehensive powers of compulsory purchase in their entirety. Thereby, the Commission would be enabled to 'secure the orderly development of land' by buying substantial areas in advance of requirements. If there is any risk that sufficient land to maintain 'the essential building programme' (and this includes private builders' work, too) would not otherwise reach builders the Commission will use its compulsory powers to bring forward the land required.

This clearly, could wreck a 'we won't play' policy of landowners. The right land could be available at the right time for the whole housing programme, schools, hospitals and town centre developments. Except in two respects, however, this does no more than public authorities can do with existing powers and, in that respect, the Commission is but 'a fifth wheel to the coach' as a Committee of the Chartered Surveyors has put it.

But what is new is, first, the power given even in the initial stage to secure land for a private developer up against an obstinate landowner. But this is not a power one can visualise as likely to be invoked to any significant degree. The second innovation is the power to acquire land in general anticipation of future needs and is most important. *But this power will only come into being at some future date.* To effect this, the two Ministers will have to lay 'proposals' before the House of Commons and get their approval. One may well ask, why?

Since the Commission will always be subject to policy directions by the two Ministers, its endowment with the powers which are new ones, and of vital importance, could be effected by the Ministers themselves. That there have to be 'proposals'—whatever that pregnant word may really mean—and a provision for approval create a prospect of delay, modifications and possible negativing which give grounds for disquiet. That Parliament itself (*i.e.*, Lords as well as Commons) is not involved is a small advantage perhaps, but a future Tory or coalition Government can water-down or keep in permanent abeyance the only important new power to acquire

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

land which the Government has put forward. A resolute government would get such powers as these forthwith and see that they were abundantly utilised without delay in order to establish firmly a new weapon against land racketeers which wide numbers outside the labour movement would welcome and want preserved.

Regrettably, the first of the Government's two objectives as defined in the White Paper (to secure that land is available) is not being attained at all as a present reality. It's just a future possibility. What explanation is offered for withholding even the remnant retained of the pre-election pledge? Merely that 'it would be administratively impracticable for the Land Commission to buy all land needed for development at the start of their operations'. At no stage would the Commission buy 'all' land so needed, since development is a continuous process extending far into the future. Therefore, why not anticipate requirements for the programme laid down in the National Plan? Would that be too much work for the infant Commission seeing that public authorities already having purchase powers can carry on as heretofore? The Commission's task to collect the levy is not so much an administrative one as a job for valuers. Perhaps there are not enough of them: why not say so, if that is the difficulty? All in all, delay in getting the Commission into action on its really vital task is not convincingly justified. There is a political explanation, of course. The Liberal Party can vote for the Bill and reverse its opposition to land 'nationalisation', as it views it, for the occasion hereafter when the 'proposals' for extending the withheld powers are before the House of Commons.

The second of the main objectives is:

> to secure that a substantial part of the development value created by the community returns to the community and that the burden of the cost of land for essential purposes is reduced.

The first part of this objective is to be realised by putting a levy on development realised through a transaction relating to the land or by its development at a date where no change of ownership takes place. If agricultural land now worth £300 is sold for £3,000 with a planning permission for housing, then the difference of £2,700 is the development value. The levy on that is payable by the seller. The levy will be at an initial rate of 40 per cent, 'which in the Government's view is a modest rate leaving ample incentive to owners to offer their land for development'. It is certainly modest! The need to offer the stated 'inducement' can only be explained by the intention not to implement the withheld compulsory power for quite a considerable time ahead and, therefore, to meet coming land needs

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by voluntary negotiation. No inducement is needed where planning consents, town plan designations and so on exist, for the compulsory power to acquire will exist in the initial stage and public authorities possess it anyhow. So, for a substantial part of land acquisitions no inducement whatever needs to be offered. This reflection pinpoints the degree of retreat from the bold intention of the pre-election idea of paying only present use value plus a small sweetener.

It is the Government's intention to increase the rate of levy progressively to 45 and then to 50 per cent 'at reasonably short intervals' and even to go further at some future time. The evident object of this is to discourage 'wait and see' tactics of landowners and to encourage sales of land willingly before the withheld compulsory power comes into force, when the rate of levy may have become 50 per cent or even more. If this calculation works out right, then the withheld power may not come into force for many years ahead. But the modesty of the levy is a heavy price to pay the landowning class for winning their co-operation.

The proceeds of the levy will be paid into the Exchequer. The entire development value on which it is calculated (the owner's profit, indeed) will then be exempt from capital gains tax or corporation tax as provided for in the 1965 Finance Act. Hence, the Exchequer will be losing the tax benefit (maximum 30 per cent) on land deals where any development value emerges. The landowner will pay only a further 10 per cent more than he would anyhow relinquish if there were no levy on development values. That is the measure of what 'substantial' means in the first words of the objective fully quoted above.

What is involved and what success may be achieved as to the second part of the quoted objective (to reduce the cost of land for essential purposes) is not easy to fathom. Even the words are baffling in reference to 'essential purposes'. What are the *in*essential purposes for which the cost of land need not be reduced? The Government attaches importance to housebuilding by private builders and their work forms part of the forthcoming Housing Programme, so it is agreed to be essential. Is it implied that market prices will be what they may and relief from the high cost be contrived by re-distributing the levy, including amongst private builders?

The principal remaining question concerns the use by the Government of the levy proceeds. Though the Commission will pay market

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

value on compulsory purchases (and, necessarily, on negotiated ones) in the same way as local authorities do now, they will be empowered to sell or lease their acquisitions on 'concessionary' terms to public authorities, housing associations and, even, private builders. As to local authorities, the White Paper makes clear (Para. 35) an intention to give them financial benefit from the levy. But this will not automatically amount to the levy attaching to their particular land acquisitions, nor to any fixed proportion of it. All we know is that 'the gain to the Exchequer . . . will in one way or another be reflected in the new arrangements under which local authorities will receive financial assistance from the Government'.

This conveys the idea that relief to the burden of interest (in place of the promised lower rate of interest) and of land cost (in place of acquiring land at current use value, as promised) will form some unidentifiable portion of general subsidy and will be flexible, *i.e.*, varying according to priorities of importance in the housing, or other, programmes.

At this stage, we do not know whether the new arrangements for financial assistance will sufficiently offset the excessive element in land costs, or interest rates. At the most optimistic level, differential degrees of assistance must leave some dissatisfied! At the level of worldly pessimism, no one will be fully satisfied. I, myself, am a pessimist on this topic.

Local authorities, and all those needing their various services, will need to continue their pressures for a lowering of burdens from high costs and loan interest rates.

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

The political significance of Liverpool (*Labour Party Conference*, 1925) is that it was a challenge, under the direct leadership of the ruling classes, to the better elements in the British labour movement. . . Prior to the Liverpool Conference, the Communists persistently called upon the left wing to rally together, so as to act in a co-ordinated and agreed fashion. These appeals had no practical results. But MacDonald has strengthened these appeals with hammer-blows. And the left wing will be compelled to respond. The stronger the Labour Party gets, the more are the workers interested in seeing that it does not become an instrument of capitalist oppression. After Liverpool, the workers must seriously ponder over the touching contact that has been established between the Labour Party leaders and their worst enemies, and also over the increased enmity between these leaders and the workers' best friends. MacDonaldite 'reconstruction' fits very nicely into an artificially composed resolution. . . . But profound economic processes will not yield much to the influence of Liberal-Labour resolutions.

(From *'Scarborough and Liverpool'*, by P. Braun, *Labour Monthly*, November, 1925.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK REVIEWS

Science in History

J. D. Bernal (Third edition, 1965)

C. A. Watts & Co. 1039 pp. £4 4s.

THIS NEW edition of an outstanding work is in every sense a magnum opus. Its subject is vast, being the inter-relation between the development of science and the development of society throughout the ages. The treatment is equally comprehensive, the author bringing his encyclopaedic learning to bear on every aspect of knowledge and theory. Not for nothing did he long ago earn the nickname of the 'sage'. He knows how to present the essence of every question clearly and readably and to pronounce judgment on its historical rôle and present state.

The history of science is presented here not as a record of the achievements and theories of great men but as the history of man's scientific and technical conquest of his environment with all its reciprocal social implications. Today the social function of science, a subject on which Professor Bernal has been the pioneer and pre-eminent authority, is universally acknowledged. This is bound up with the ever-accelerating pace and consequences of the new scientific revolution in our time. Accordingly, for this new edition the author has particularly revised and expanded his account of modern natural science and the social sciences, so that it covers all new developments. This now occupies fully half the book.

He does more than show the extent to which science is now the major factor in social progress. Thanks to the scientific Marxist basis of his analysis he is able to show in detail exactly how capitalism holds back development in every sphere. He eloquently and scathingly exposes the bankruptcy of political and social science under capitalism. It is impossible in a few words to do justice to the book's wealth of information and breadth of judgment. It should be studied by all socialists as a valuable aid and stimulus to the union of theory and practice.

CLEMENS DUTT.

The Freedom of Art

Honor Arundel

Lawrence & Wishart. 104 pp. 8s. 6d.

IT SEEMS TO ME that somebody has slipped up over this book—and it certainly isn't the author. It consists of one hundred short pages of text and it costs 8s. 6d. By current prices it is certainly worth the price. But the price contradicts the whole tone and spirit of the book. The book is written like a pamphlet and it should have been produced in the numbers and at the price of a pamphlet. If it were a pamphlet, it would be the best modern introduction to art available to the British labour movement. Perhaps if this edition sells out, the publishers will be able to correct their mistake. Meanwhile every reader of *L.M.* who has wondered about what art can do, the way it works and how it is (and is not) related to politics and the class struggle, should somehow get hold of a copy to read through.

Let me say what this book is not. It is not a marxist introduction to the history of art—like Ernst Fisher's *The Necessity of Art,* published by Penguins. It is much simpler in approach and language, less scholarly and more topical. Nor is it a work of great originality—if it were, it could not be so clear. But it is a work of very considerable maturity. The experience on which it is based is *not* simple and has not been simplified in

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

retrospect. The author has seen and admits how complicated the relations between art and politics can be.

For example: Khrushchov and Eisenhower condemned experimental art in very similar terms. Demands for propaganda have stimulated certain artists and ruined others of equally good political faith. Men with revolutionary political opinions have sometimes produced revolutionary art, etc.

It is a book which requires no specialised knowledge and is highly readable. There are short chapters on William Morris, Brecht, Picasso, Hugh MacDiarmid. There are ideas about censorship, puritanism, nationalism in art, the relationships between form and content. The book as a whole pleads for freedom from exploitation and dogmatism. It describes how, for over a century, capitalism has crippled and deformed the artist: and also how for twenty years Stalinism imprisoned him.

Her marxist understanding leads the author to ask questions which are ignored by practically all bourgeois writers on the subject. At the same time her respect for reality prevents her presenting answers as though they were doctrine. The truth of the matter is that we still know very little about how and why art affects us. We know that it answers a social need within each individual in a highly personal way. We know that the work of art, the social need, the individual and his personality are to some extent historically conditioned and we can usefully analyse the conditioning. But our conclusions remain comparatively crude. Many aspects of art remain mysterious. Honor Arundel neither decries nor worships this mystery. She takes it into account as a working fact.

My own hunch is that the next step towards some clearer knowledge involves thinking about the future role of art. Art, as much as anything else, has made us aware of the sordidness and inhumanity of the bourgeois world. Now the world, taken as a whole, no longer needs art to demonstrate this. What does it need art for? To win the fight for peace and socialism? Without a doubt, but what exactly does it need from art, as distinct from short-term propaganda, to win that fight? And what will it need from art for the transformation to communism?

These were the kind of questions which this book prompts one to ask. The book ends with a quotation from Gramsci, the great Italian marxist and founder of the Italian Communist Party. When the working class has achieved power it will still need, he said 'to take on the work of reconquest, to restore in full for itself and all humanity the devastated realm of the spirit'.

Honor Arundel, if this book reaches the large working class public it deserves, is contributing to the groundwork for the beginning of such a restoration.

JOHN BERGER.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The Anatomy of Apartheid, E. S. Sachs. Collets. 424 pp. 45s.
The Elected Monarch, F. W. G. Benemy. Geo. Harrap. 272 pp. 16s.
Fringe Benefits, Labour Costs & Social Services. D. J. Robertson. Allen & Unwin. 336 pp. 48s.
The Hussite Movement in Bohemia, J. Macek. Lawrence & Wishart. 120 pp. 7s. 6d.
Revolution and Defeat, D. George Kousoules. Oxford Univesity Press. 306 pp. 35s.
Equality, R. H. Tawney. Allen & Unwin. 256 pp. 7s. 6d.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VIEWS OF VALUE

READERS' views on current articles, as well as suggestions for future ones, are of infinite value to us. The response to a particular issue is, in a sense, the framework on which we build future numbers of *L.M.* Last month's issue brought a record correspondence—a tribute to the wide range of articles and the interest aroused by them.

'R.P.D.'s estimate of the blind "Plan" ', writes a Lancashire reader, 'made me realise how fortunate we are to have an editor with a long memory and a magazine with history in print—but we need to let more people know!' This reader, incidentally, sells 12 *L.M.s* and collects three donations monthly. 'Congratulations on Dr. Pitt's article', a Londoner writes. 'He has set an example to the labour movement by his stand on the immigration question and *L.M.* has done a service by further strengthening his hand'. From Wales, this comment on 'Channel Islands Under Nazi Occupation': 'Now that it is fashionable to whitewash nazism in certain quarters, it's urgent that everyone should be reminded of what fascism really means'. Appreciation for 'Crisis in Greece' is summed up by this Kent reader: 'An inspiring report of the struggles of the Greek people by one who is so qualified to write about them'.

To those who write for us, write to us, and keep our Fund functioning, thank you all. **Helen Falber.**

£61 16s. 8d.

REGULAR DONATIONS came from: H. Brindle, 5s; 'Two Tynesiders', 5s; 'Highgate Reader', £6; B. W. Mackay, 4s; D. H. Strathern and friends, 10s; 'S. Mill', £1; 'Butcher family', 10s; A. Corbett, £1; L. Bates (plus tribute to Willie Gallacher) 15s; Oldham Branch, 2s; Blackburn Branch, 3s; L'Humanité, 5s; G.I., 2s; R.F.B., £3; Len Perkins, 2s 6d; F.G.A. (in memory of Willie Gallacher), £1; 'Oliver Twist and friends', 15s; E. Sheldon, 10s; 'Humphreys family', 5s; N. Usher, 2s 6d; R. McLeod, 5s; D. J. Perry, 2s 6d; S. Townsend, 12s 6d; 'Pax', 5s; J. Tarver (plus extra in appreciation of poem 'Willie'), 15s; Ben Ainley, £1; Southend Branch, 12s 6d; E.J.B., 10s; J. A. Purton, 7s 6d; 'Socialist Sailor', £1; A.M.T. (for Fernando and Guilherme), 1s.

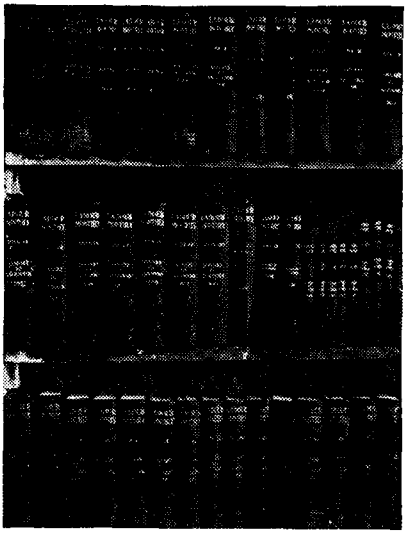
OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS include: Mrs. E. Whelan, £1 1s; Mrs. M. Eady, 10s 6d; Mrs. F. Ross, 5s; K. Alexander, £1; J. J. Murphy, £2; H. S. Steward, 9s; A. A. Woolf, 4s 6d; W. E. Clark, 9s; W. Chester, 2s; W. R. Hunt, 6d; A. E. Moffett, 10s; 'In memory of William Gallacher' (B. Herring), 5s; L. Miseldine, 9s; A. Hampton, 10s; W. and N. Cockren, £1; I.R. 4s; T. D. Tyson, 9s; R.J.F. 9s; D. Kelly, 10s; W. Winsch, 9s; B. D. Scarffe, 10s; F. Crump, 5s; D. G. Hogg, 1s 6d; G. L. Shuttleworth, 19s; S. Stables, £1 1s; H. Ullyatt, 9s; R. Plevin, 1s; D. R. Morrison, 11s 6d; W. H. Turner, 10s; 'Ph.D.', 7s; J. Jowett, £2; F. L. Tonge, 3s; Wm. Buchan, 5s; R. Royle, £3 19s; G. Cameron, 19s; W.H. (Australia) 'in memory of Willie Gallacher', £5; J. V. Ruffell, £1 1s; J. Slater, £1; Mrs. V. Truelove, 10s; I. Nicholas, 9s; 'Plebian' (in memory of Tom Peppercorn), 5s; **Wood Green Branch, 14s 6d; H. Wolff, 19s;** G. S. Robertson, 4s; Finchley C.N.D., 6s 3d; C. Ford, 19s; K.N. (U.S.A.) £4 1s 10d; C.S., (U.S.A.) 17s 4d; L.G. (Canada) 5s 3d.

Our thanks to you all. 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.

Co-op. No. L.99482. FINchley 5135.

Published by the proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Wembley News, Wembley, Middlesex, Great Britain. Registered for transmission by Magazine Post to Canada, including Newfoundland.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LABOUR MONTHLY BOUND VOLUMES

'Priceless as a living history of this epoch . . . '

(A. L. Morton)

Treasures the 'stately homes' do not possess

Complete your library now

Write for price list to:

The Manager, Labour Monthly, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3

LABOUR RESEARCH
'Q & A on the Land White Paper'
'Coal Outlook Uncertain'
1s. or 1s. 3d. by post
LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
78, Blackfriars Rd., London, S.E.1

Binder Bros. Ltd.

Building and decorating by craftsmen

TOTtenham 2362

PREGNANCY TESTING

Rapid, accurate, reliable

Send small urine sample and 2 Gns. fee

Dept. LM.
HADLEY LABORATORIES LTD.
18 Harvist Road,
London, N.W.6

For all interested in the fight for Peace and Progress in the Countryside and the problems of Socialist Agriculture.

THE COUNTRY STANDARD

Quarterly 6d. By post 9d.
Annual Subscription 3/- Post free or
Send 3d. stamp for specimen copy.

THE COUNTRY STANDARD
27, Bedford St. Strand, London W.C.2

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

(*3s. 6d. a line, minimum,* 10*s. 6d. Cash with order to: 'Class Ads.', Labour Monthly,* 134, *Ballards Lane, London, N.*3.)

5S. PIECES WANTED. £10 each paid for the following: 1818 to 1820, 1826, 1831, 1839, 1844, 1902, 1927 to 1934. 5s. pieces must be in F.D.C. mint condition for this price. Searle, No. 10 Office, Bridge House, Newton Abbot (*L.M.*).

WE BUY BOOKS, pamphlets: Socialism, U.S.S.R., Comintern, Spain. We collect: PRO 7254. The Hammersmith Bookshop, Liffords Pl., S.W.13.

KENT—RAMSGATE & DISTRICT. For details of properties for sale apply: LESLIE HOGBIN & PARTNERS, 48, Queen Street, Ramsgate. Tel. Thanet 53222.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARXISM AND THE LINGUISTIC PHILOSOPHY

Maurice Cornforth

A study of the dominant trend in contemporary philosophy, and the Marxist reply to it.

55s.

MEN, MACHINES AND HISTORY

S. Lilley

The history of technology and its social effects from the beginnings of agriculture to the present day; the last part contains a brilliant study of the contemporary technological revolution. *New, revised and expanded edition. Illustrated.*

45s.

THE CONCEPT OF FREEDOM

Christopher Caudwell

Collects together the best of Caudwell's *Studies in a Dying Culture* and five chapters of *The Crisis in Physics*. Caudwell's *Poems* simultaneously re-issued (price 25s.).

35s.

LAWRENCE & WISHART

WHY NOT BY POST?

It's quicker
— and it's cheaper too!

NAME .....
(Please use block capitals)

ADDRESS .....

.....

.....

I enclose 21s. (Overseas, 24s., Canada and USA, $3.50), for year's subscription from the

.....issue.

(SIGNED) .....

To LABOUR MONTHLY

134, BALLARDS LANE,

LONDON, N.3.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED